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601 potential wife of my father (Shaputa to Misaben), not to mention those women of my wife's family who can be so called. An elder sister is also mamana to her younger sister, and sometimes a husband calls his wife mamana (1).

If the mother's sister is a mother, the mother's brother is by no means a father. He is called *malume* or *kokwana*, and here we meet with one of the most characteristic features of the Thonga, and even Bantu, system of relationship. The term kokwana means first the paternal grandfather and all the ancestors on the father's side, and this is its proper essential meaning. The bakokwana are also all my mother's male relatives: her brothers, fathers, uncles, etc. They form a group which I call "ka bakokwana" which means "my mother's home," just as *kweru* means my father's home, my official home. Kweru comes first; ka bakokwana next. "The bushaka on the father's side is the head; on the mother's side, only the legs" (Mboza).

593 Let us remember that a child lives at his father's home and only
602 goes on a visit to his mother's village. He may stay there for
591 years after the weaning, but if he chose to settle there, he would be made fun of and severely censured by his father and his paternal uncles. "You are stupid," they would say, "you leave your own village, you go to the village of your bakokwana to increase it! This is true folly. Has not your mother been bought with money? The children she bore belong to your father, just like the calves of his cows." (Mboza.) But if the home of the mother cannot become the home of the children, the relations they maintain with

601 (1) The term mamana is frequently used by an interlocutor, without any idea of
576 relationship, when speaking to married women of a more advanced age than himself. Such an extented meaning is also frequent with tatana, kokwana, ñwana. Any man older than I am can be addressed by me as tatana and will answer by calling me ñwana. If the difference of age is greater, we shall treat each other as kokwana and stukulu. Speaking in the third person a child will always put tatana before the name of any grown up man, though he belong to a totally different clan. Women round Lourenco Marques often call a White man akata, husband. This shows that kinship terms are employed as expressing moral relations as well as blood or family relations, and we must not draw hasty conclusions from the way in which these terms are applied, or necessarily see in them the traces of a previous social state in which every grown up man or woman was looked on as a true father or mother. The Thongas may give to these terms an extended meaning. Nevertheless they differentiate perfectly between their technical and their derived sense.

b. The bakoñwana.

606 First of all, *the wife's father*. There is a great respect in the heart of his son-in-law towards him, even a certain amount of fear, because, should a quarrel arise between a man and his wife, the father-in-law will preside over the painful discussions which will take place, he being the natural protector of his daughter. However, in normal cases, the two men live on good terms with each other, and very soon the son-in-law calls his father-in-law tatana, father ; of course the word tatana is not used here in its technical sense, but only by extension.

607 192 Secondly the bakoñwana are *the wife's brothers*. When their father dies, they take his place as protectors of their sister. Hence the uneasiness and fear with regard to them, which is, however, less marked in their case. The wife's brothers will never be called bamakweru (as they will never be ba-kweru, those of my house) but they are frequently designated by the term *soar*, or *sibar*, which is merely a corruption of the Dutch word zwager. This curious adoption of a foreign term is modern ; it is spreading more and more amongst the Zulus, Xosas and Suthos of Basutoland. Amongst the Thongas I only once heard the word soar used. The tendency to assimilate that kind of relationship to the European conception is a proof that the old fear of brothers-in-law is disappearing in the new generation.

606 But it is in the relation with two women of the wife's family that the respect of bukoñwana is pushed to the greatest extent : the wife's mother and the wife of the brother-in-law. In these cases there is not only respect but *avoidance*

*The wife's mother.*

606 576 Let us listen to Viguet telling the story of a man meeting his mother-in-law in the bush. "If one of the two sees the othe coming a long way off, soon enough to escape without being noticed, he will speedily hide himself and reach his destination by making a long circuit, half a mile if necessary. But if they have come too near to have recourse to flight, this is what will happen. You leave the road ; you enter the bush on your right

606 side. She does the same. Then you sit down according to
376 men's fashion, crossing your legs. She also sits down bending
834 her legs, and putting one knee over the other as women do; then
576 both parties salute each other, you, as a man, clapping your hands against each other, holding them parallel, and the woman holding hers at right angles. Then you begin to talk..."

Suppose the son-in-law has had the good luck to reach the village of his wife's relatives without having met his mother-in-law, but sees her sitting somewhere near a hut. This is dreadful. She looks at him and at once covers her breasts with her cloth. He himself turns his eyes aside. I saw in Natal a curious photograph representing the scene. Amongst the Zulus the avoidance of the mother-in-law is perhaps more marked than in any other tribe; the man is shown in the picture hiding his face
606 with his shield. Should the mother-in-law be taking her meal
576 when her son-in-law arrives unexpectedly, she throws away the mouthful she was eating, and he does the same.— Suppose then that he has entered the village without seeing her; then the tinamu, his wife's sisters, come hastily to meet him. They take his sticks, joking with him meanwhile and put them in his mother-in-law's hut. This hut is his; he has the right of staying in it during his whole visit. They spread a mat on the ground, and bring him food. They chat with him. Then the mother-in-law comes in her turn, but she dares not enter the hut. She sits down outside and, without seeing him, salutes him, saying: "Good morning, son of so and so." She must not pronounce his name. He answers in the same style, and must also say: "Daughter of so and so." Should he call her by her name it would be a breach of etiquette and his wife would be angry and say: "How dare you? Did she not bring me forth? Rather say: Mother!" During the first years of his married life, the son-in-law never eats with his wife's mother.

607 This peculiar behaviour is the rule, not only towards the wife's mother, but also towards her sisters.

606 In the course of years there is a *lessening* of this terrible taboo.
431 In the Maputju clan, the son-in-law will provide an ox as soon as
576 possible and he will "communicate" (tlhangana) with her, partaking

606 of its meat with all his relatives-in-law. Then both will be
431 allowed to eat together. Until that present was made, it would
376 have been impossible. In this clan, a future son-in-law does not eat at all with his bakoñwana until the marriage is concluded, and this rule is sometimes observed till he has given "the ox for communicating together." Amongst the Zulus it is said that a mother-in-law will never eat with her daughter's husband. In the Khosa clan the custom of lessening the avoidance taboo by offering a present to the mother-in-law also exists. The son-in-law will one day bring a plate of food to her with his gift put on-top of it. She will accept it and eat together with him. Then it will be possible for these two persons to "djungulisana" i. e. to tell each other the news of the day when visiting each other's village. But when this monotonous recital is finished and concluded, as is customary, by clapping both hands, this must be done with care, and not in a hurried fashion, as when speaking to an ordinary person, but slowly and respectfully.

115 606 835 What is the reason of this extraordinary conduct of the son-in-law towards his wife's mother ? The Khosa Native who gave me this last information said : "A wise man will carefully observe the bukoñwana rules, because, if he hurts his parents-in-law by infringing them, they will not give him his tinamu as wives." This is true, but the same may be said of all the taboos of the bukoñwana, and the mother-in-law is not the principal person to be consulted on the question. Another more profound reason was once alluded to by an old Thonga, of Spelonken, Abraham Mabanyisi, who said to me : "I fear my mother-in-law because I shall never marry her : Such a thing has never been seen." This statement has been confirmed since by information gathered in the Maputju clan. Notice the almost reflex action of the mother-in-law in covering her breasts when she sees her son-in-law coming unexpectedly. It shows that there is a sexual element in the behaviour of the woman and also in that of the man, who hides his face in order not to see her in her half nakedness. Dr. Rivers, who has met exactly the same rites of avoidance amongst the Melanesians, supposes that they are dictated by a more or less unconscious desire on the part of both these persons to fight against the temptation to have sexual relations with each other. Bantus also, in the course of the evolution of the family, have come to the deep conviction that such intercourse is bad and must

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606 835 be banished from their thoughts. They obey that conviction when practising the avoidance rites.

*The wife of the brother-in-law, the Great Mukoñwana.*

607 This particular respect is even more marked in the relations of a man with the wife of his wife's brother. Indeed the avoidance is pushed further than with the mother-in-law. A Native of the Ndjao tribe (which has the same customs as the Thonga tribe in this respect) described to me vividly the extraordinary marks of fear that these two persons show each other when they meet on the road. The story will be told when speaking of the Ba-Ndjao. Here are some other marks of this extraordinary respect.

607 834 The wife's brother's wife must always keep her breasts covered in the village of her husband's sister's husband. Only when she has had a child is she permitted to "open her clothing;" but then she must fix a leaf in her hair (as if to show that she does not forget the special reserve which she is bound to maintain). (Khosen region.)

607 836 827 When a man travels with his great mukoñwana and they have to cross a river, they will avoid entering the same boat. It may happen to anyone to emit an unseemly sound from the rectum; but if the great mukoñwana is present, she looks on this as a grave offence. A fine must be paid to her, a hoe, for instance. If the guilty man has nothing to give her, he at once breaks a twig from a tree and presents it to her as a token that the proper fine will be forthcoming in due time! He must never use words of insult in her presence, even if he addresses them to another person.

607 844 If he loses his temper before her she will go to the old people of her husband's village and tell them: "He has insulted me." On the other hand the great mukoñwana is bound to go and assist the wife of this man when she gives birth to a child. At least this is the rule in the Khosa clan and also in Maputju. The two women live on very good terms with each other; they are

607 *tinhombe*. The man himself, when he visits his relatives-in-law, has the right of sleeping in the hut of the great mukoñwana. We have seen that, during the first months after his marriage, he is received in the hut of his mother-in-law. Why is this? Because the oxen

182 621 783 829 mourning over the dead. The inner connexion existing between these three events is that, in all of them, there is a passage. Hence the resemblance of the rites. This striking similarity is, to my mind, the best proof that the passage rites constitute a peculiar category. When a headman has decided to move, he leaves his old kraal, he *separates* from it, not by the ordinary gate, but by a special opening made at the back of the village. He is not allowed to return to it again. Then, for him and for all his people, begins a *marginal period* of one month or more, the buhlapfa (notice the prefix *bu* which indicates a period here, as in busahana [page 42]). We see the village, during these few weeks, put beyond the pale of society. The ordinary laws are suspended, (licencious songs), and many special taboos are enforced (prohibition of sexual relations, fire taboo, water taboo, etc.), just as in the period of mourning; at last the village returns to the ordinary course of life by a final act of purification, the mysterious *hlamba ndjaka*, which seems to be the most powerful means of cleansing the collective life. This last ceremony shows that, here, the marginal period has been instituted on account of the uncleaness, the impurity of the old village. Let us remember that in most cases the village has been moved on account of death! All the adult members of the social organism take part in the cleansing (at least in the Northern clans) and so the village begins a new and purified life. No one can deny the deep significance of all these rites and the mystic conception of the Thonga village.

## C. THE HEADMAN AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE VILLAGE.

596 576 621 618 Each village thus possesses its superior (hosi), its master. He is called *munumzane* or *numzane*, a curious expression which is also employed in Zulu; it means owner of a kraal, gentleman, and is often used in saluting grown up men. We have seen the mystic relation between the headman and his *muti*. The village, the muti, is the primitive social organism. The clan (tiko), which is the gathering of all the *miti*, reproduces all the features of the village life on a large scale. So the *numzane* corresponds to the *hosi*, chief of the tribe. Both certainly possess great authority, 622 596

524 keep serious and not laugh. Should they be unable to keep their countenances, their victory is lost!

538 But these games are only a preliminary. The farther we go, the nearer we get to true literature! Now they ask each other *riddles (psitekatekisa)*, simple and antiphonic. We shall study this form of folklore later on... If the second side is unable to give the right answer to the riddle, it asks permission to propose one in its turn and so the intellectual combat goes on until they have exhausted the series of riddles they know. Those who have had the worst of the duel must pay the forfeit by *telling tales (tha psihetana)*. A woman may be present who is a renowned story-teller and she holds the whole company under the charm of her tale for half an hour, perhaps longer... Children shudder when they hear the terrible story of the bogey man! They burst into laughter when she describes the funny tricks of the Hare, or of the frog *Shinana*. They heartily approve when the younger brother, despised by his elders, becomes their saviour and teaches them a good lesson... Thonga folk-lore is very rich; it is one of the most interesting manifestations of the psychic life of the tribe. We shall study it with the attention it deserves in Part V of this work. Here it is sufficient to show what a great and happy part it plays in the life of the village.

## E. RULES OF POLITENESS AND HOSPITALITY.

576 769 593 The village life is dominated by the *respect for hierarchy*. I do not think this term is exaggerated. Etymologically hierarchy conveys not only a moral but a religious idea. This religious feeling is not absent in the fear felt by a younger brother for his elder, because the elder member of the family is its priest, the only possible intermediary between the family and its gods (See Part VI). So no wonder if, in their relations with each other, though these are extremely free and natural, Natives follow strict rules of etiquette.

576 In *addressing* an elder person, it is not becoming to call him
551 by his name. You will say to him: "Tatana," father, or "mamana," mother, as the case may be. Or you address him by the name of his father preceded by Ñwa, if it is a man, Mi, if it is a woman. So Mboza was called Ñwamasuluke, and Nsabula Migogwe. You may also say to a counsellor: "Ndjuna," to the chief: "Hosi," to the headman: "Numzana," to any grown-up man: "Wa-ka-Manyana," viz., man of such a clan, or descendant of such a man. Even speaking of an adult in the third person, you will not use his name but employ similar respectful expressions.
576 After the birth of her first child, the mother is generally called after
553 it, not so universally, however, as amongst the Ba-Sutho. So
551 Magugu, the wife of Spoon, became Mamana wa Modjadju, especially when spoken of in the third person. The names which are the most taboo are those of the mother-in-law, and of the "woman bought with my oxen." Speaking of a deceased person, one puts before his name the expression "*Matjuwa*," which corresponds to our: "late." In the Northern clans, the word *shira*, grave, is employed for "late".

576 The principle *salutations* are: *Shawan*: Be saluted, said by the arriving guest, to which you reply also: *Shawan*. *Hamban*: Good-bye or *Salan*: Remain, is said on leaving, and you answer: *Famban*: Go, or *Famban kahle* (Zulu): Go happily. Other greetings are employed only at certain times of the day: *Avushen*! a kind of locative, "at the dawn," equivalent to "Good morning." (Vusha means dawn). *Hi nhlekanhi*: It is midday! *A dji pelen*: or *a dji hlwen*: At sunset, properly: time when the sun sets. When retiring to sleep: *Yetlelan* (Ro.): Sleep! or *sibaman* (Dj.): lie on your belly; or *hi ta pfushana*: we shall say to each other good morning to-morrow! A curious salutation addressed to people working is: *A psi fen* (Ro.): Let it die. Its origin is as follows. When a man had killed a large animal, a hippopotamus or an antelope, his companions are in the habit of saluting him thus, hoping to share the meat with him. Now it is said to anybody working in the fields; it then means: "Let your work die." The
576 word "Nkosi," with which Natives salute white men, means
609 Chief in Zulu. They lift up their hand when pronouncing it. It

576 is not as if they were trying to raise their hats, as they do not wear
609 any. The explanation of the gesture is this, according to a Transvaal Native : the Boers taught black people to point to heaven, when saluting a white man, with this meaning : I compare you with the One who is above!

576 In the Northern clans, salutations are generally accompanied
201 by a clapping of hands (omba mandla). Men beat their hands against each other, placing them parallel to each other ; women do the same, placing them crosswise or at right angles. Amongst the Ba-Pedi this salutation with the hands is performed in a somewhat different manner ; when a Pedi enters the hubo, and wishes to greet a gathering of men, he claps his hands before his breast ; but when he salutes only one person, he bows down and claps his hands at the height of his knees, either on the right side or on the left. Amongst the Ba-Ronga, clapping the hands is a sign of thankfulness ; they say as they do so : *I khani mambo*, which probably means : "I dance before you, Sir." ("Mambo"
576 means chief in the Ndjao language.) In Djonga the proper word for thanking is *nkomo*. The etymology of this word seems to be : "I homu," "it is an ox." If anyone gives me a hen, he presents it to me saying : "Take my chick." When he brings a goat he says : "This is my hen." In both cases I answer : "Nkomo," "it is an ox!" The Thonga etiquette requires that the giver depreciate his gift and that the receiver magnify it! Another less polite way of thanking is this : *Yengetani*, — "do it again," or *ni mundjaku*, — "and also to-morrow!"

576 Thongas used not to *shake hands* in former times. Now-a-days
177 the civilised Natives have adopted the European fashion, but this kind of familiarity is not approved of by the old folks, especially by the chiefs. Natives, when they shake hands, often do it in two movements : first they catch the four fingers and then slide on to the thumb. I do not know where they have
832 learnt to do this! *Kissing* was formerly entirely unknown. A good mother would occasionally wipe her baby's nose, but this can hardly be called a kiss. When they saw the custom adopted by the Europeans, they said laughingly : "Look at these people! They suck each other! They eat each other's saliva and dirt!"

832 576 593 152 572 Even a husband never kissed his wife. On coming back from a journey, a man would hardly greet his wife; she would see him passing through the village, prepare food for him, and when it was cooked, she would come and salute him by presenting it to him. But if he has a good friend in the village, and if this friend sees him coming back after a long absence, their meeting will be much more touching. The friend will go to the main entrance of the village, exclaim: "Ha-Ha," take his parcel from his hands, put his arms round his shoulders (a ku mu buso hi mandla), remove the perspiration from his face, and pat him gently, saying: "Your ancestor-gods have their eyes open! They have worked well! They have brought you back."

574 609 622 *Hospitality.* When strangers enter a village, men sit on the *bandla*, and women go further on and sit on the *hubo*; they remain quietly there till the people of the village come and salute them (losa). Should the inhabitants delay too long, the visitors move on, saying: "These people are not good." But this is very rare. Generally the master of the village comes to them, inquiring who they are, whence they come, where they are going, and asks them: "Do you wish to spend the night here?" If they say: "Yes," the headman will empty one of his huts by putting two of his wives together, and will himself sleep with the visitors. Should there still be food, he will give them some. If not, he says: 574 609 622 203 195 "*Ndlala*!" "Starvation!" After a little while, a mat is unrolled and the official ceremony of "djungulisana" takes place. This is a very amusing custom. The headman sits together with his hosts and enquires about the news of their home. One of the visitors begins in a monotonous tone and pours forth volubly a flow of words with a peculiar cadence and almost without taking breath. His interlocutor interrupts him after each sentence, with "Ahina, hina," that is to say "Indeed, indeed!" till the whole skein is unwound; the two men finish with a longer "*Hina*," the inhabitants of the hut adding an emphatic "*khani*," a heartfelt "thank you;" then the master of the village begins to relate his own news in the same tone. It is impossible to imagine anything more curious than this "mélopée" in two parts. 574 609 This law of hospitality is general all over the tribe. Should

618 movement of amalgamation would probably not have taken place,
175 and I think we may consider the clan life, as it is still met with
643 amongst the Rongas, (who were never subject to the Ngoni chief), as the typical Bantu political state (1).

## B. THE LAUDATORY NAME OF THE CLANS AND TOTEMISM.

618 Each clan is known by the name of the old chief who is believed
551 to have been its original ancestor. So the Nkuna clan comes
101 from Nkuna, who lived four or five hundred years ago, and left Zululand for the Bilen country. The Mazwaya clan descends from Mazwaya, grandfather of Masinga and ancestor of all the heads of the sub-clans, Makaneta, Hlewane, etc. This name is a kind of *family name* for all the members of the clan. In the course of time, when sub-clans begin to aspire to independence, the first ancestor tends to fall into oblivion and is supplanted by the ancestor of the sub-clan. This process is easily noticeable at the present moment in Nondwane, where Mboza, for instance, calls himself a Makaneta. He says: "I am wa ka Makaneta," — "a man of the Makaneta house;" but if he wants to be more precise, he will say: "I am a Mazwaya Makaneta." — "Shibongo a shi diwi," "the family name is never eaten, it is eternal!" (Mboza.)

618 This old name is called *shibongo* from *ku bonga*, to laud, to
551 praise. It is a *laudatory name*. It is used as such on two diffe-
576 rent occasions: 1) *When people salute each other*. A friend who meets Mboza on the road will say to him: "Shawan, Makaneta," "Good morning Makaneta!" But also: "Shawan Makhetshe!" (Makhetshe is the grandfather of Makaneta); or: "Shawan Mazwaya" or "Shawan Nwamasuluke." (Masuluke is the true father of Mboza.)

(1) The objection might be raised that, in former centuries, the celebrated Monomotapa founded a great kingdom. But what this exactly was, nobody knows. The descriptions of the chroniclers of those times are not very trustworthy, as we shall see from a quotation which will be made later on.

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2) *To soothe babies.* Should Mboza's son cry, his nurse will say : "Miyela, Makaneta ñwa yindlu ya ntima," "Keep quiet Makaneta, of the black hut." It may also happen that some one wishing to console himself in affliction will do the same. Notice these last words : "of the black hut." They mean : "You who belong to a village where the huts have had time to become black ; they have never been destroyed by enemies, as no enemy dares to attack your clan! So the roofs have blackened inside from the effects of the smoke and outside from those of the rain!" It is customary to add to the name of the ancestor words such as these, in order to flatter more highly the man you salute, or the baby you console. Thus each clan has a *laudatory phrase* which is sometimes much longer than the Makaneta one. Masinga is called "wa le hondjo-sin," "the one who reigns over the red earth," (more fertile than the sand). The Matinanas or Ngomanes are lauded thus : "Nkandjetele wa ku woma, ku baleka minambyana" — "the one who tramples on a dry place, and rivers begin to flow," because he is so heavy, so powerful! (Compare p. 87.) A Ngomane man will address his paternal aunt with the same words, when offering her a present.

Here are some of the best known shibongo. Their meaning is sometimes unknown, as they often contain ancient and obsolete expressions :

*Hoñwana* : Ñwahomu ya ntima ñwa mu-Nondjwana, — The black ox of Nondjwana (or Nondwane).

*Shirindja* : Mudzunga ntima wa le dzungen, — Black South of the South ?

*Mpfumo* : Ba hlela misaba ba khabuta, — They winnow the sand ; they eat it. (The sand is so white in their country that it resembles mealies flour : they never lack food.)

*Libombo* : Libombo la Ndlopfu, — Elephant's face.

*Nkuna* : Ba homu! Ba nyari! ya makhwiri, Ñwashitjimba buraka, ba mahlwen ka ntima. — Those of the ox! Those of the buffalo, the buffalo with the large belly which rolls in the mud, the one with a black spot on the forehead!

*Rikotjo* : Ba Nyamasi, — Those of the nyamari tree.

*Khosa* : Ba ripanga ro sheka ba ntsindja, — Those of the keen

551 618 576 edged sword which "cuts" disputes brought to the capital. (The Khosa chiefs were reputed for their wisdom in deciding judicial or political matters.)

*Hlabi*: Ba Nhlabi ba ku bengwa, Nhlabi ya Makamu ya Mavuse ya nkoñwana, — The Hlabi who are hated, sons of Makamu, of Mavuse, of the calf (?)

*Hlengwe*: Shikobela sha Matsheme, Tshauke wa Matsheme (names of old chiefs).

551 618 643 576 *Tembe*: Mulao Ngolanyama madlaya a nga di, makhama a nga di, a dlayele bahloti: — Mulao (son of Tembe ?), the lion which kills and does not eat, the hawk which kills, it kills for the hunters, viz., it is so well fed itself, so rich that it can leave the meat for others. Such a sentence was pronounced in former times by subjects entering the royal kraal, crawling on their knees, when they wished to receive food from the chief.

*Nhlanganu*: Ba ku hlomula fumo, ba renga ndlela: — Those who unsheath the sword in order to buy the road, (the right of passing through a foreign country) (1).

551 In addition to these laudatory phrases of clans, each individual has his own sentence or sentences by which he praises himself or by which others praise his qualities. They are specially common in the case of boys, but even girls possess them. In the case of chiefs, such praises are much longer. See for instance the praise of the Nkuna chief Muhlaba (Part III, Ch. III, III).

* * *

171 If we cross the plain of the Sabi and reach the Drakensberg, we find that all the Pedi tribes dwelling together with the Thongas in the Leydenburg and Zoutpansberg district, possess laudatory

551 609 (1) This custom of praising the various tribes in such terms is so familiar to the Thongas that they have invented similar expressions for the white people. The Portuguese are: Ba ka nâofazmalo, — the Sons of Never mind, because they seem to the Natives to be somewhat careless or indifferent. The English are: Bana ba Nhluleki, a hluleka ku hleka, a tiba ku lwa, — the sons of the one who cannot, he cannot laugh, he knows how to fight! Perhaps Natives consider them, on the contrary, somewhat too earnest, too keen!

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643 535 chiefs are entitled (1). The *elevation and the presentation* ended, the next proceeding is the *gila* or war dance. The heroes of the army (batlhabani ba fumo), and the young men of blood royal rush one after the other into the enclosure brandishing their weapons, jumping as high as they possibly can, imitating acts of prowess on the battle field and simulating the transfixion of their enemies. The *gila* continues until the cry is heard : "Ye-yi, yé-yi, ye-yi." This murmuring sound uttered by the whole army marks the end of the jumping, and all re-form into line. All the shields must now touch one another, forming an immense unbroken circle, and then comes the *guba*, the intonation of the 643 solemn chant which is at once the principal patriotic song of the 533 tribe, the coronation hymn, the dirge of mourning, the war-song, 539 and the sacred melody par excellence :

Sabela ! Sabela nkosi ! Ji ! Ji !
Answer us ! Answer us, O chief ! Ji ! Ji !
Si ya ku wela mulambu mkulu wa ka nkosi.
Yes, we will cross the great river, the river of the chief.

This chant, which is in the Zulu language, is difficult to understand. The soloist commences with : "Sabela nkosi" which may be translated "Obey the chief ;" but the meaning would rather seem to be : "Reply to us, chief !" and, if taken in this sense, these words would be a request made by the army

643 609 576 (1) The word *Bayete* is said to be of Zulu origin and to convey the following meaning : bring thine enemies hither and destroy them ! *Ndjao* means lion. The warriors employ these terms to extol the power of their chief and, at the same time, to express their allegiance to him. There is a modern tendency to use this solemn salutation in a more general manner : for instance it is addressed to the Whites and not only to those in authority, but more or less to every one, even, in certain cases, to missionaries ! I always remember my arrival at the village of Shirinda, when I went to call on the chief Mahatlane, then unknown to me. I arrived at the gate of the kraal mounted on a most unpretentious little donkey and enquired of two young men who were there, where I could find the chief. "Bayete !" was the salutation I received and there was certainly nothing very regal either in my appearance or my "mount." One of these young men proved to be Mahatlane himself ! *Bayete* is also frequently used in acknowledging a gift from a superior and would then be merely the equivalent of "thank you." In Gaza, Gungunyana would not allow Bayete to be said to any one but himself. All the petty chiefs of the Ba-Ronga insisted on their royal salutation and the Ngoni king could not put a stop to it, as they were direct dependencies of the Whites and did not derive their authority from him.

1 [For the coronation of a chief --Analyst]

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga



64/3 their own saliva," (viz., their mouths watering the while). He sometimes throws a piece of meat to one of his favourites, who accepts it with both hands, shouting: "Bayete!" In the Tembe capital, men crawled on their knees before the chief, shouting: "Ngolanyama" "Lion!". Nwangundjuwana, the chief of Nwamba, was known for his more democratic ways. He used to eat with his men.

To shake hands with a chief was also considered as taboo before the days of Christianity. Now Muhlaba somewhat reluctantly accepts the hand which is extended to him by the most modest of his subjects, even by children on Christmas Day. The idea which is at the bottom of the fear is that the chief is a magical being. He possesses special medicines with which he rubs himself or which he swallows, so that his body is taboo (ntjumbu wa hosi wa yila). He is dangerous. "When he points at you with his finger, you are a dead man" (Mboza). Owing to the charms with which he had smeared his body, Maphunga, the chief of Nondwane, made those who discussed State affairs with him, even White people, "unable to answer him or to resist 64/3 his will" (Mboza). In order to increase this salutary fear, some 171 chiefs had the curious custom of *disappearing for a time* (tumba) "just like a big caterpillar when it enters the ground and becomes a chrysalis." The same Maphunga used to remain invisible during one week each year before the great bukanye feast (1). We shall see the same rite practised by the great magicians, who also aspire to create a deep impression on the imagination of the people. (See Part VI.) As already mentioned, 64/3 the chief alone must be addressed by the royal salutation "Bayete" 576 or "Baheti." The hosana has no right to it legally, and must be addressed by the term "Baba," "Father." As regards subjects, they are called *malandja*, from the verb ku landja,

(1) This custom is met with amongst the Pedis, where old chiefs abandon their kraals and go to live in the desert for years, leaving a prince regent in their stead. This kind of hermit life gives them great prestige. The Pedi chief Sikororo, near Shilouane, is the best-known case of such a disappearance. Sexual continence, even repugnance to women, was one of his reasons for this seclusion, which lasted until his death (1903 or 1904).

k: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga



551 609 of the white man. M. Torre do Valle has given a list of nicknames of the merchants and other inhabitants of Lourenço Marques in his Diccionario Shironga-Portuguez. It is well worth consulting, and the only thing wanting is a photograph of the white man and an explanation of the name ; it would be a splendid illustration of Native wit!

551 576 618 So far we have spoken only of *personal* names and nicknames. But, beside these, every man possesses his clan name, or surname, viz., the name of the first of his known ancestors. Grown up men prefer being addressed by this name, which is *shibongo*, viz. the name by which they are "glorified." This subject is treated in Part III (p. 360).

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## APPENDIX III (See p. 98)

### *Unnatural Vice in the Johannesburg Compounds.*

938 548 588 In January 1915 one of my colleagues passing near one of the Johannesburg Compounds, saw a big company of Natives singing and walking in the direction of another Compound where a great dance was taking place. Amongst them there were a number of women. My colleague asked his Native evangelist how it was possible that so many women should be walking about in that part of the world, where the feminine element is very small. The man told him : "They are not women! They are *tinkhontshana*, boys who have placed on their chests the breasts of women carved in wood, and who are going to the dance in order to play the part of women. To-night when they return to their dormitories, their 'husbands' will have to give them 10/, and only on that condition will the tinkhontshana remove their breasts and comply with the desire of their husbands." I sent for this evangelist who knew everything about the inner life of the Compounds and asked him about it ; this is the information I received :

Unnatural vice (bukhontshana) has become a regular institution in the Compounds. The word *nkhontshana* seems to come from the Ngoni, a Zulu dialect spoken in the Limpopo plain. The nkhontshana is the boy used by another man to satisfy his lust, and the man is called his *numa*, husband. When a gang of new workers arrives in a Compound, the Native induna, who has the supervision of the Compound, and the Native policemen, who have their rooms at the

(He was a Nkuna from Shiluvane.) It is not strange therefore 301
that they became enamoured of beads. They give them special 832
names, according to colour and size, and succeed in turning them to very good account. The chief ornament the women make, (beadwork is exclusively done by the women), is the *mugangu* (No. 2); used in love-making (gangisa) ; it is a kind of crown of blue beads with red chevrons, worn by girls when they wish to beautify themselves. Some are wide and some narrow ; the beads are strung on threads which are crossed and knotted as the work proceeds : no canvas foundation is used. The bead necklace 301
is called *shihekisana*. Bead bracelets on the wrist are *shibolisa*, and on the ankles *malwada*. Beads are also used in making large and heavy belts (mugadzi), weighing one to two pounds, and very much appreciated as an ornament when dancing. In the same way calabashes (No. 5) are covered with beads, bags made of hide (No. 4), bottles and even baskets. This bead work calls for a 276
good deal of patience. One of the things which the Ronga most 301
dearly loves to have decorated with beads is his tobacco pouch, (ngulana, No. 3), which is for him not only a means of satisfying his passion for taking snuff, but also one of his most prized ornaments. I do not now refer to the carved ebony tobacco box, worn *en bandoulière*, but to the article consisting of eight or nine large seeds, hollowed out, in which is kept the powder which stimulates the brain. Each of these seeds (which come from another country) is closed with a small piece of reed ; when one is walking they rattle against each other, producing a most delightful sound! The first thing a man will say to a friend on 576
meeting him, will be : "Fole?" — "Tobacco?" and before 276
anything further is said, each will indulge in a pinch. The same act of politeness is essential before beginning any discussion. The Thonga does not smoke the calumet of peace, but uses for a like purpose the many receptacled tobacco pouch, decorated with beads, which hangs from the belt at his hip. He takes from it a pinch of snuff, which he offers to his opponent ; the latter takes another pinch and proceedings then commence under the happiest auspices. Hearts are not far from concord... when noses have already fraternised!

train was heard in the distance. One of my servants was busy cleaning the pots ; I heard him muttering the following words : 195

The one who roars in the distance... The one who crushes in pieces the braves and smashes them ! The one who debauches our wives : they abandon us, they go (to the towns to lead a bad life) ! The seducer ! And we remain alone.

He was extolling the huge thing and lamenting his misfortune and the curse it has brought upon the country.

## IV. *Satiric poetry.*

I have already mentioned the peculiar custom of Thonga literati of speaking in a round-about fashion, and using figurative language, especially when they want to say something disagreeable or to give vent to their humour. It is but one step from such forms to satire. They generally indulge in this satiric vein when dealing with relatives-in-law, women being especially prone to it. When the sisters and aunts of a married woman go to pay a visit to her, they convey all kinds of equivocal compliments. These must not be taken seriously! It is a round-about — exceedingly round-about — way of making graceful allusions and expressing their mutual esteem. I will quote the series of these songs of friendly chaff and invective as it was given to me by Shigiyane, with a running commentary to render them comprehensible. These lively and pointed choruses give a fitting finishing-touch to the marriage customs, and illustrate the curious relations existing between allied families, which I explained in Vol. I, p. 249-253. 533 195 574 576 539

On the wedding day the women who take the bride to her husband sing the *tjeka song* : 585 533 539

Let us go with her, but let us go back to our homes!

This is an ironical way of saying : "She is going to find trouble : we won't follow her as far as that!." The same idea runs through all the songs which these women sing during the next few days.

834 place at a given spot and according to a given order of precedence.
783 This will bring about the definite restoration of the village and a new and pure life will henceforth be possible.

761 I ought perhaps to offer some excuse for having dwelt at some
827 length on a subject which is generally left alone as indelicate. I hope however that my readers will agree with me that all these physiological conceptions and all these strange customs, far from being of a lascivious or licentious character, denote, on the contrary, a deep and earnest conception of life and an aspiration towards purity which it is most interesting to observe. They are at the same time amongst the most striking manifestations of Bantu Dynamism.

827 Beside these great principles of Thonga physiology, I may
576 mention a few other ideas relating to the various secretions of the human body.

578 *Spitting* (ku thuka) is a sign of want of respect, as we have seen (p. 310). It is especially prohibited in the presence of people who are eating, and if any one should spit, they will insult the culprit, saying to him : "Eat your own shikohlolo!" — When some one expectorates, others present will cover the phlegm with sand, not on account of taboo, but from disgust.

826 *Blood* (ngati, yin-tin) is also instinctively covered with sand, as
791 soon as it has been shed. This is a taboo, because wizards might use it to bewitch you! The charms of the wizards are commonly called *tingati*, bloods.

827 As regards *sweat* (nyuku, mu-mi), although I cannot assert that the idea is universal, I think it is conceived as coming from outside and falling on men like the dew (mbere) on the grass. When they enter a place which is close, Natives say : "There is sweat here." The etymology of this word is *ku nyuka*, to melt.

*Excrement* (matjimba) is looked upon as disgusting, but there is no taboo in connection with it.

*Yawning* (yahlamula) is attended with no superstition.

*Hiccough* (shitikwane) is not feared in children, but very much so in the case of sick people.

*Belching* (bisa) is sometimes considered as the result of having been bewitched, especially if the patient becomes thin. Magicians